

NAME AS A VEHICLE OF COMMUNICATION: A CASE OF THE EFIKS OF NIGERIA'S CROSS RIVER STATE



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ABSTRACT

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This paper seeks to examine the Efik naming system and how it communicates the cultural and genealogical identity of the Efik people of Cross River State of Nigeria. In-depth interviewing is the research technique used for this study. Altogether, 28 persons - nine traditional rulers and 19 community elders - were interviewed; and this is augmented by the researcher's intuitive knowledge. The theoretical framework adopted for the study is Bormann's symbolic convergence symbol theory (SCT). Discussion is done in a descriptive form. Findings show that an average Efik person can bear up to six names - *enyiñ emana* (birth name), *usio enyiñ* (given name), *udori enyiñ* or *nditik enyiñ* (nickname), *enyiñ uko* or *enyiñ akparawa* (honorific or pet name), and can also have *enyiñ uduök-mmöñ* (baptismal name) and *enyiñ edisöñö* (confirmation name), if he/she is a Christian, especially of the Catholic faith. The implication of these findings is that name, among the Efik people, has the capacity to communicate the identity, birthday, place of origin, genealogy, achievement, attribute, and ancestry of its bearer though many Efik people are now deviating from the established naming conventions that had existed among them. To, therefore, preserve the Efik tradition and culture, this paper recommends that the naming system should be respected and maintained.

Contribution/ Originality: This study is one of the very few studies which have investigated the Efik naming system. However, it is original in its examination of how these names communicate the cultural and genealogical identities as well as personal attributes of the Efik people.

1. INTRODUCTION

A name primarily communicates a person's identity. The Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines name as "a word or phrase that constitutes the distinctive designation of a person or thing." This research, therefore, attempts to identify those areas a name can communicate about a person of Efik origin or extraction.

The Efik-speaking people are the descendants of Efik Eburutu who, according to Efiom-Duke (2015) are found in "Calabar, Akpabuyo, Akamkpa, Bakassi, Odukpani Local Government Areas and part of Akwa Ibom State, etc." Aye (2005) further explains that "The Efik occupy the lower basins of the Eniong Creek, Cross and Calabar Rivers, extending beyond the Great Kwa River to Akpayafe on the Cameroon border...."

Mensah (2009) did a work on the socio-cultural and grammatical insights into the Efik naming system. His main concern was to reveal the intricate interrelationship between the Yoruba and Igbo names with those of Efik... Here, our core interest is to identify how the Efik names communicate not just the identity of the bearer but his/her day of birth, ancestry, position of birth, accomplishments, social status, and so on. We also intend to discuss why a typical Efik person has up to four or more names.

To generate data for this study, in-depth interviewing is the research method used. This is "a qualitative research technique that involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, programme, or situation" (Boyce and Palena, 2006). It is very useful and apt for a research such as this. According to Wimmer and Joseph (2000) it has the most important advantage of providing a "wealth of detail" which, when compared to more traditional survey methods, present "more accurate responses on sensitive issues." In this research, a total of 28 persons – nine traditional rulers and 19 community elders – were interviewed with the intention to obtain the history of their ancestral names and what those names communicate. Their responses helped to provide rich, descriptive data used in the discussion. Secondary sources of data were drawn from earlier works, such as Mensah (2009) and some family documents that provided information on the Efik naming system.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ferdinand de Saussure formulated an idea he termed signification, which became an important contribution he made to the study of language. Signification, in this context, is a meaning a particular term, sign, symbol or character conveys or is meant to convey all the time. Saussure sees it as "differentiating between the name, the naming and the meaning of what has been named" (Watson and Hill, 1996).

Name simply is a word or phrase used for the distinctive identification of a person or thing. Mish (1998) says name is a word or "symbol" to designate an entity. So, a symbol such as name is described by Watson and Hill (1996) as an "object, person or event to which a generally agreed, shared meaning has been given and which individuals have learned to accept as representing something other than itself..." Names, as symbols, are often culture-bound. Understanding name as a symbol, therefore, relates this study to the symbolic convergence theory (SCT), propounded by Bormann (1982). The theory sees people sharing common fantasies (that is, creative imaginations), and this collection of the individuals involved being transformed into one united entity. According to Griffin (2006) the theory offers an explanation for the appearance of a group's cohesiveness, consisting of shared emotions, motives, and meanings; and that through it, individuals can build a community or a group consciousness which grow stronger if they share a cluster of fantasy themes.

Bormann posits a three-part structure to the study: one, the part that gives a clarifying explanation of the recurring communicative forms and patterns involved in a shared group consciousness; two, the part which describes why group consensuses arise, decline and disappear or rise and is maintained; and three, the part which contains the factors that explain why people begin to share or stop sharing a common symbolic reality.

This study sees name, among the Efik people of Cross River State of Nigeria, as a common symbolic reality shared by them. It also deals with the differentiation and signification in the names they bear and, however, establishes that during the course of time, the Efik naming conventions have consequently been altered. These are all in line with the content of Bormann's symbolic convergence theory, which this study has helped to further strengthen.

3. NAME: A VEHICLE OF COMMUNICATION

Communication is derived from the Latin word, *communico*, which means "share." Sharing involves giving out and receiving something back, which in this case, is information. McQuail *et al.* (1972) define four major categories of need that communication can satisfy man with:

1. *Diversion* (that is, escapes from constraints of routine; escape from the burden of problems, emotional release).
2. *Personal Relationships* (companionship; social utility).
3. *Personal Identity* (personal reference; reality exploration; value reinforcement).
4. *Surveillance* (need for information in our complex world).

Of these four categories of need, name, as vehicle of communication, involves directly in three - *personal relationships* because it connects people within the society, *personal identity* because it gives individuality as well as personality, and *surveillance* because it provides facts about its holder.

A vehicle of communication is a device that carries a communicated message to a target audience. Ukpong (2007) recognises name as "a vehicle or reflection of culture" and as "a storehouse of knowledge." To him, in performing this role, "every name has or it is intended to have a meaning and may have a lot to say about family history."

Speaking in tandem with this position, Mensah (2009) says "that names are media of articulating human experiences and perception." In other words, he maintains that names communicate meanings other than "mere labels for individual's identity, but are also social praxis for negotiating social relationships." And in another contribution by Mensah (2015) he rightly comments that "Names... relate with other parts of culture; they are marks of identity, solidarity, and social cohesion."

It is with this understanding that this paper intends to present name as a veritable vehicle of communication.

4. NAMING SYSTEM OF THE EFIK PEOPLE

Ukpong (2007) opines that the naming systems of most African societies are similar. He goes on to add:

A large majority of African people adopt patronymic rules in naming their children. That is to say, children are invariably named after male parents or ancestors. A child may be given the name of an ancestor or that of a friend or he may be named according to the peculiar circumstances of his birth....

However, Sanusi (2012) maintains that "Different culture have different conventions for personal names." Although among the Efik people, the naming system is also patronymic, the conventions used for their names are quite peculiar. An official website of the Obong's Council - the traditional court of the treaty king and natural ruler of the Efiks - (www.efikeburutu.org) confirms this; and further explains that the Efik tribe is made of 12 clans traceable, either through patrilineal or matrilineal line, to the founding ancestor, Iboku. It concludes that the naming system of the Efik is the same in all the 12 clans "but the names are so different that, in time past when there was a lot of control over name usages, children could only be traced to their ancestral clans by the very nature of their names."

The Efik naming system can further be illustrated as follows:

- A first son is usually named after his grandfather. For an example, a man named Efiom whose father is Ene has his first son answering Ene Efiom Ene, whose pet name can be Etete (grandfather);
- A first daughter is also usually named after her paternal grandmother and may be given the pet name - Kokonne (grandmother's namesake);
- A second son is named after his father. Example: Efiom Efiom Ene (shortened as Efefiom or Efiom-ita or Efitita) and given the pet name, Kokoete (father's namesake);
- A second daughter is named after her father's mother and may be given the pet name, Ekaete (father's mother);
- Third sons and daughters are usually named after the great grandparents, paternal or maternal, and the pet names could be Etekamba (big father) and Mmakamba (big mother) respectively.

Notwithstanding the above, in ancient Efik naming custom, children could be named after their mothers. For example, Efiang Essien (alias Ephraim Duke), who reigned as Obong of Calabar between 1814 and 1834, was "so named after his famous mother, ... Princess Essienanwan Efiom Efiang Archibong, a great grand-daughter of Archibong Otu Ekong (Grandy King George), ruler of Old Town" (Efiom-Duke, 2015).

It should, however, be noted that every Efik son or daughter can bear four different native names. These are: birth names (*enyiñ emana*), given names (*usio enyiñ*), nicknames (*udori enyiñ* or *nditik enyiñ*) and honorific or pet names (*enyiñ uko* or *enyiñ akparawa*).

4.1. Birth Names (*Enyiñ Emana*)

These are names given to children according to the days they were born. Usually, they are not supposed to be used for official or formal identification but only to depict the day of birth according to the Efik's market days.

The Efiks have eight market days, namely Akwa Ikwö, Akwa Ederi, Akwa Ibibio, Akwa Öfiöñ, Ekpri Ikwö, Ekpri Ederi, Ekpri Ibibio and Ekpri Öfiöñ. Children born on these days are named as follow:

- Akwa Ikwö - *Asuquö* or *Asukwö* (male) and *Ikwö* (female);
- Ekpri Ikwö - *Asuquö* or *Asukwö* (male) and *Ikwö* (female);
- Akwa Ederi - *Edet* (male) and *Arit* (female);
- Ekpri Ederi - *Edet* (male) and *Arit* (female);
- Akwa Ibibio - *Etim* (male) and *Atim* (female);
- Ekpri Ibibio - *Etim* (male) and *Atim* (female);
- Akwa Öfiöñ - *Efiöñ* (male) and *Afiöñ* (female);
- Ekpri Öfiöñ - *Efiöñ* (male) and *Afiöñ* (female).

However, if the child was born in the night, a boy is named *Okon* and a girl is called *Nko* or *Nkoyo* without any regard to the day of birth though Mensah (2009) had submitted that the female version is *Okon-anwan*. It should be noted here, however, that their neighbours, the Ibibios, not the Efiks, are the ones that answer *Okon-anwan*.

In the olden days when means of information storage and retrieval were largely unavailable, *enyiñ emana* could help not only to keep in remembrance the day of one's birth but could also be used to trace events that happened during that period. It is not supposed to be used formally even though nowadays many Efik sons and daughters have formalised its usage.

4.2. Given Names (*Usio Enyiñ*):

These are names that properly distinguish true Efik indigenes. They are generally ancestral names and most of them do not have literal meanings as in the case of Ibibio, Igbo or Yoruba names. Mensah (2009) explains further why this is so:

Names that are borne by people within the Calabar axis, comprising Calabar Municipality, Calabar South, Akpabuyo, Bakassi and parts of Odukpani, and names that are found among the various Eburutu clans as Enioñ, Ito, Ukwä and Ikoneto among others. The former has names with deep lexical contents, but most of their original meanings in the course of history. Therefore, it is not uncommon to find a name bearer constructing what s/he feels the meaning of his/her name should be....

Some of the names are peculiar to certain Efik families and they help to communicate the place of origin of their bearers. Therefore, persons answering these names can easily be traced to the particular segment of the Efik race they come from except where such persons were named after their father's friends or associates from families other than theirs. For instance,

- *Aye, Ankot, Ekeng, Efang* (or *Effanga*), *Erwa*, and *Ansa* or *Henshaw* are names indigenous to the Henshaw Town (or Nsiduñ) people;
- *Okoho, Inameti, Orok* and *Okor* are names particularly from Duke Town;
- *Erete, Esang, Ekpiken, Amaku, Ikpeme* and *Onoyom* are names peculiar to the Abatim descendants of Enioñ;
- *Akabom, Antigha, Mkpang* are from Cobham Town;
- *Eyamba* and *Obo* are popular with people from Eyamba House;
- *Nsemo, Akpanika* and *Ishie* are from Ishie Town;
- *Ene, Eneyo* and *Tete* are unique with those from Etim Effiom House;
- *Eton, Akak* and *Nya* are common among the people from Mbiabo Ikorofiong;
- *Ntiero, Ndem* and *Efiwatt* are from the Ntiero Family;
- *Eso, Adim, Anansa* and *Akabom* from Obutong (Old Town);
- *Eniang, Ukorebi* and *Ani* from Mbiabo Ikoneto;
- *Asido, Effa* (or *Efa*) and *Otu* from Adiabo;
- *Ambo, Asama, Itam, Ibitam, Efiok, Okpo, Nsa, Hogan*, and *Oku* from Creek Town; and
- *Asibong* or *Archibong* from Archibong Town.

There are also some given names that are derived from names of deities. A few examples of these are:

- *Ekpenyong* from the Ekpenyong Ekpenyong deity;
- *Ekanem* from Ekanem, a river goddess located along Marina, Calabar;
- *Asari* from Asari Mandu, a river goddess located at Ifondo river in Akpabuyo Local Government Area;
- *Anansa* from the Anansa Iking Obutong deity of Obutong (or Old Town);
- *Ndem* or *Andem* from Ndem Efik Iboku (the deity of Efik Iboku); and
- *Basse*y or *Abasi* from the Supreme Creator (God Almighty).

Some Efik names were anglicised by the European traders who did business in and later administered over the Calabar territory. Examples of these names are:

- *Adam* for Edem;
- *Archibong* for Asibong;
- *Basse*y for Abasi;
- *Boco* for Oboko;
- *Cobham* for Akabom;
- *Egbo Young* for Ekpenyong;
- *Ephraim* for Effiom or Efiom;
- *Henshaw* for Ansa or Nsa; and
- *Hogan* for Okon.

There are some English names that are exclusively identified with some Efik families. They were given by the Europeans as a result of some peculiar traits attributable to the ancestral heads of the respective families and they have been adopted as surnames by these families. Some of such names are:

- *Duke*: The name, Duke, was given by the British as a title depicting royalty to the king of Akwa Akpa, also known as Old Town or Duke Town (to the European colonists). Duke Town was an Efik city-state that flourished "as a centre of slave trade, where slaves were exchanged for European goods" (Jones, 2001). The people of this area, including the sub-family units such as Yellow-Duke, Adam-Duke and Bassey-Duke, accepted and began using Duke as their ancestral name and it has stuck till now.
- *Honesty* - King Eyo II ruled Creek Town (Western Calabar) between 1835 and 1858. He was involved in palm produce and slave trade with the European super-cargoes, and was accepted as a very straightforward person in his trade policies. This trustworthiness earned him the nickname, Honesty, which he later

adopted as his proper name. He thereafter formed the Eyo Honesty lineage, and the name has remained as an identity for direct descendants of that family.

- *Ironbar* - There are two Ironbar families, both of the Ekpo Edem House. The first was formed by Hogan Iron-bar (this name is hyphenated) or Okon Iban Amanso of Atimbo in Akpabuyo Local Government Area. He was a mighty man of valour and a trader in palm oil with the super-cargoes. The Portuguese traders were amazed by his enormous power and when he was once challenged over the source of his strength, he broke a drum of palm oil with his bare hand to prove it, thereby being nicknamed Iron bar. The other Ironbar (without hyphen) was Edem Ndarake Ekpo Edem Ekpo Effiom Okoho, the founder of Ikot Edem Ndarake in Akpabuyo Local Government Area. Physically very powerful, he was a blacksmith, who used to import iron from Liverpool, England to melt and produce iron wares. This earned him the nickname, Ironbar. The family he founded has remained with that name as its formal identity.

Most Efik names are masculine but they can be feminised by adding the suffix - *anwan* or the prefix - *Mma*.

Examples of these are:

- *Mma-Asuquo* or *Asuquoanwan* from Asuquo;
- *Mma-Ekpenyong* or *Ekpenyonganwan* from Ekpenyong;
- *Mma-Effiom* or *Effioanwan* from Effiom;
- *Mma-Ekpo* or *Ekpoanwan* from Ekpo;
- *Mma-Ene* or *Eneanwan* from Ene;
- *Mma-Itam* or *Itamanwan* from Itam;
- *Mma-Antigha* or *Antighanwan* from Antigha;
- *Mma-Orok* or *Orokanwan* from Orok; and
- *Mma-Offiong* or *Offionganwan* from Offiong.

There are some names that are specifically given to only female children. In other word, they are not borne by the male. Some of them are *Amukwa*, *Asa*, *Asandia*, *Asari*, *Edak*, *Edisua*, *Ekenwe*, *Eme*, *Ikana*, *Mandu*, *Mbang*, *Nkese*, *Nkwa*, *Okoho* and *Onwurua*.

It should also be noted that there are some Efik names which are not gender-specific. Such names do not need to be feminised but can be borne by both male and female. Examples of this kind of name are: *Andem*, *Adim*, *Bassey*, *Ekanem*, *Eke*, *Eyamba*, *Inyang*, *Obo*, *Odo*, *Nsa* and *Umo*. However, it should be noted that there are some families that may decide to give the name to only male or female members and not to both.

4.3. Nickname (*Udori Enyiñ* or *Nditik Enyiñ*)

Nicknames are given as a signification of endearment to the bearers by loved ones and close family members. They are to also serve the purpose of communicating the circumstance of one's birth or his/her position in the family. These particular names among the Efiks are not supposed to be used in formal settings such as school enrolment or for any other public records.

The following are examples are nicknames that communicate the bearer's circumstance or position of birth:

- The first son whose father is also a first son is called "*Akpakpan*" and if she is the first daughter of a man who is a first son, she is called "*Adiaha-Akpan*";
- The first son whose father is a second son is called "*Akpan-udö*" and if the child is the first daughter of a second son, she is called "*Adiaha-udö*";
- The first son to a first daughter is "*Akpan-adiaha*" and if the mother is the second daughter, he may be called "*Akpan-odunwan*";
- A child who bears the same name with his father can be called "*Koko-ete*" while a girl that answers the same name as her mother is called "*Koko-eka*" or "*Koko-mma*" and if she bears her grandmother's name, she may be called "*Koko-nne*".

There are some other nicknames, such as the following, which communicate endearment and respect:

- *Ufan-ete* (father's friend) and *Ufan-eka* (mother's friend) for the female child;
- *Etinyin* (our father) while the feminine form is *Ekanyin* (our mother);
- *Etete* (paternal grandfather), *Etema* (maternal grandfather) while for the girl, she is called *Eka-ete* (paternal grandfather) and *Eka-eka* (maternal grandmother);
- *Eteböñ* (father of a king) for a boy and *Ekaböñ* (mother of a king) for a girl;
- *Etekamba* (big father) and *Mmakamba* (big mother) - usually given respectively to a son or daughter in memory of their grandparents;
- *Nne* or *Nne-nne* (grandmother or great grandmother);
- *Ete-nne* (Grandmother's father); etc.

There are also some nicknames that are generated or derivable from the bearer's real name. Some of these are:

- *Akpama* or *Eskor* from Asuquo;
- *Ayib* from Effiom or Efiom;
- *Ebak* from Otu;
- *Eddy* from Edet;
- *Eka-Ekpo* or *Nkee* from Nkese;
- *Eti* from Etim;
- *Efi* from Efiom;
- *Iyam* from Eyamba;
- *Nkim* from Effanga;
- *Nneneñ* for Ekanem;
- *Odusu* for Ekpenyong.

4.4. Honorific or Pet Name (*Enyiñ Uko* or *Enyiñ Akparawa*)

These are names given by friends and mates in recognition of a person's prowess and they communicate the bearer's outstanding achievements in life. They are used as a mark of respect and recognition as well as conferment of status. *Enyiñ uko* is a name given in recognition of one's prowess and outstanding exploits, such as skilfulness in wrestling competitions, strength in fighting a war, expertise in hunting, versatility in leadership, etc.

Some examples of *enyiñ uko* are:

- *Orwot uko* (The full version is *Orwot uko atua usen nnanenyin*, meaning "He that kills the brave cries at the visit of adversity");
- *Ökpö ösöñ* (The full version is *Ökpö ösöñ akan ukwak* which means "The bone that is stronger than an iron");
- *Eto nkukim* (Full version: *Eto nkukim inuen isöröke* which means "Birds don't perch on trees with spikes");
- *Efiöñ eyen Ökömbruba* (Full version: *Efiöñ eyen Ökömbruba - asaña ikpöñ unam idighe ndisime* which means "Efiom, son of Ökömbruba - the animal that decides to move about alone is not senseless");
- *Ikö ösöñ* (Full version: *Ikö ösöñ, okpoho onuk*, meaning "No matter the seriousness of the case, money can solve it");
- *Ukemeke aka* (Full version: *Ukemeke aka, ka ise!* which means, "You don't have the capacity to perform a task but you want to go and fail trying it!");
- *Oyom ñkpa* (Full version: *Oyom ñkpa otuk enañ isim* which means "He that wants to die touches the tail of a cow");
- *Ebibene* (Full version: *Ebibene ösöñ, enañ eberi edem* which means "If the wall is strong, the cow leans on it").

On the other hand, *enyiñ akparawa*, often given when the bearer is young and vibrant, communicates his personal attributes and natural bestowment. It may be used to communicate such things as a person's physical

handsomeness, dexterity in drumming, talent in singing, stupendous material wealth or good dressing sense. The following are a few examples of *enyiñ akparawa*:

- *Ñkoñ* (Full version: *Ñkoñ enem uyo nkan ekömö* which means "The gong that has a more beautiful sound than the drum");
- *Ntokon* (Full version: *Ntokon eye iso ndiök edu* which means "The pepper that looks physically appealing but can be hot-tempered");
- *Ekpri abiabon* (Full version: *Ekpri abiabon ekim akwa öföñ* which means "The little needle that sews a big dress");
- *Iföt itaha* (Full version: *Iföt itaha eyen-eka ösöñ mbañ*, meaning "Witches cannot attack a sibling of the outspoken");
- *Ekebe* (The full version is *Ekebe okpo orwo eye ke mbana* which means "The coffin that carries the corpse can look appealing if well decorated");
- *Efiom Efiom enyene ñkpö* (The full version: *Efiom Efiom enyene ñkpö, orwo efen inyeneke ñkpö nte Efiom enyenede* which means "It is only Efiom that has great wealth, no other person's wealth can measure to his");
- *Inem ñkpö* (Full version: *Inem ñkpö oduñ usuñ uyom* which means "A delightful thing is not easily accessible");
- *Iköñ eye k'enyöñ* (Full version: *Iköñ eye k'enyöñ, esim isöñ akabade ndek*, meaning "The leaf is beautiful when still on the tree but when it falls on the ground, it turns to dirt").

5. FINDINGS

Findings from this study show that there are some peculiarities in Efik naming system. Also, there exist some marked shifts under the modern dispensation from what used to obtain among the Efik people in the olden days. Some of these findings are:

1. Almost all Efik proper names, in their normal or ordinary usage, do not have literal meanings. For instance, names like Archibong, Effanga, Akabom, Eyo, Ene, Edem, Ekeng, Eniang, Itam, Ani, etc. do not have any denotative expression except to communicate their bearers' family affiliation. This is different from what obtains in the naming system of some other tribes in Nigeria such as the Igbos, Ibibios and Yorubas where their names confer direct and/or circumstantial meanings.
2. Efik names, except *enyiñ uko* or *enyiñ akparawa* (honorific or pet names), are not in sentence format. This is in direct contrast with the names of people from Yoruba, Igbo and Ibibio tribes, for instance, whose personal names are usually compound words or sentences that have meaning.
3. *Usio enyiñ* communicates to the society where the bearer of a name comes from. For example, a person named Eneyo is likely to come from Ikot Eneyo in Akpabuyo Local Government Area of Cross River State. However, this norm has changed because some Efik people have started giving their children names of their friends, associates, mentors or heroes who may not share a family lineage with them. Therefore, one can now see, for instance, a man answering Eniang who does not have his root in Mbiabo Ikoneto.
4. In the past, only *usio enyiñ* (given names) were being used for official or formal documentations. This has changed; for we now see many Efik children using their *enyiñ emana* (birth names) - Effiong, Affiong, Asuquo, Ikwo, Edet, Arit, Etim, Atim, Okon and Nko - in their academic, employment, hospital and business records. This is affecting negatively the proper genealogical identity which the Efik traditional naming conventions had hitherto established.

6. CONCLUSION

In addition to the above names, an average Efik person who belongs to the Christian faith can also bear baptismal names and if a Catholic, an additional confirmation name. So, it is not strange that a man can have up to six names. For example, this researcher has these names: Patrick (*enyiñ uduök-mmöñ* or baptismal name), Mary-

Patrick (*enyiñ edisōñō* or confirmation name), Asuquo (birth name), Efiom (given name), Etemma (nickname), and *Owot uko* (honorific or pet name).

In all, it is ascertained that name, among the Efik people of Cross River State of Nigeria, has the capacity to communicate the identity, birthday, place of origin, genealogy, achievement, attribute, and ancestral linkage of its bearer. To, therefore, preserve their tradition and culture, the naming system as discussed herein should be respected and maintained by the present and future generations of Efik indigenes.

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